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THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

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THE PRINCIPLES

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As adopted by

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PROGRESSIVE *Party of South Africa*

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#8

If there is one law that is constant in the world, it is the law of change. Technical, economic, philosophical developments create forces which act on humanity and on each other to produce new situations and again new forces. Politics as we understand it is the method whereby nations seek to remain in adjustment with their environment - and as we have seen, their environment is constantly changing.

Therefore politics cannot stand still - and until 1959, politics in South Africa was failing utterly to move with the times. The new wine of the post-war world was being poured into the old bottles of the Anglo-Boer controversy. For the two major political parties were parties which had been formed out of that controversy - the Nationalist Party as the political front of conscious Afrikanerdom, the United Party as the mouthpiece of those who wished to create a joint nationhood of the English and Afrikaans-speaking peoples. Race relations, in the sense of relations between people with skins of different colours, was never the primary difference between these two groups : both were conservative white groups, though the attitude of the Nationalists towards non-white advancement was considerably more intransigent than that of the United Party.

During the Second World War, South African politics became subject to the strong trends that were sweeping the world. The cry was one of " Freedom". The Atlantic Charter, the United Nations, the whole victorious Allied war effort were dedicated to the proposition that every human being should enjoy inalienable rights, that neither race, religion, language or sex should be any bar to the advancement of the individual. In the wake of the war came a wave of change in the world. Everywhere, and not least on the African continent, peoples who had been subject became free. In particular, the dark-skinned peoples moved rapidly towards full status and self-government.

Meanwhile, in South Africa, the war-time development of industry had brought the Africans to the towns in ever greater numbers and had accelerated the economic integration of the races. All this had its effect on the thinking of the Smuts-Hofmeyr government of the day, and they began to move towards the acceptance of a multi-racial society, notably through their acceptance of the Fagan Report and their move to extend political rights to Indians.

The Nationalists reacted promptly to this new trend. Realising that the implementation in South Africa of the ideals of the Western World would lead to rapid extension of rights and privileges to non-Europeans, they decided to appeal to the race prejudices of the whites. They did this through the doctrine of apartheid, which meant, in its negative aspect, the oppression of the non-white peoples in so-called white South Africa, and in its positive aspect, the award of rights to Africans in the present Native Reserves.

These tactics paid the Nationalists handsomely. They were returned to power in 1948 by an electorate which, in effect, gave them a mandate to maintain white hegemony and enforce stricter separation in various spheres. Little emphasis was laid on the positive side of apartheid, then or for many years afterwards.

The election of 1948 had important effects on the thinking of both parties, by causing concentration on problems of colour almost to the exclusion of all others. In the Nationalist Party, virtually all of whose members were in any case strongly prejudiced, this resulted in a racialism which went rapidly from bad to worse. Members of the party competed with each other to think of ways of driving dark-skinned South Africans further and yet further from the

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LESSONS FROM THE CONGO.

1.	IS IT OUR BUSINESS?	The Progressive Party does not believe in interfering in the domestic affairs of other countries. But Africa has shrunk, and the world has shrunk. What happens in the Congo affects us, and we can learn from it. The Progressive Party owes its success to its ability to face facts and drew conclusions from them. We shall do so now.
2.	ARE CONGO CONDITIONS COMPARABLE TO OUR OWN?	Emphatically not. The ratio of black to White people in the Congo is 130: 1 - in South Africa, a little more than 3: 1 . The Black Congolese are almost entirely primitive, whereas Black South Africans have had hundreds of years of education and industrialisation.
3.	WERE THE CONGOLESE READY FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT?	Of course not. According to reports, there were in the whole of the Congo only sixteen University graduates. There was neither the educated class which could lead the nation, nor the stable middle class which could give balance and substance to the electorate. Yet these are prerequisites of modern Parliamentary government.
4.	WHY WERE THE BELGIANS FORCED TO HAND OVER?	For years the Congo was governed by simple racial domination. No share whatever in their own government was offered to the Congolese, even to the few who were ready for it. So an explosion became imminent, just as it must become imminent in South Africa if the racialistic policies of the Nationalist and/ or United Parties are continued. Faced with this threat, the Belgians handed over precipitately,

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#10

THE PASS LAWS AND INFLUX CONTROL.

I. WHY THEY MUST GO.

Any sincere attempt to improve race relations obviously involves the removal of the sources of resentment and bitterness between the different races. When the Progressive Party consulted African leaders throughout South Africa, they were unanimous in saying that the pass-law influx control system was the greatest single cause of inter-racial hostility.

The deliberate development, over the last 10 years, of a migratory labour system, the eviction simply on technicalities of thousands upon thousands of Africans from urban areas where they have lived and worked for years, and hundreds of thousands of arrests every year on pass law charges have resulted in the breakup of families, the spread of crime and the spread of a destructive instability in the life of the African community.

In the words of the manager of Durban's Department of Bantu Administration (to quote only one of the many cries against influx control): "In my 40 years of public life I have not known anything that has made my people hate Bantu Administration more than these influx control regulations. Many Natives ordered out wander aimlessly around and are in danger of becoming criminals through frustation".

But it is not only in the social sphere that influx control brings dire results. The economy of the country also, is hampered and restricted by the multiplicity of regulations which prevent the building up of a stable, productive and contented African labour force. Employers of labour have little incentive and a great deal less opportunity to make good productive use of African labour when the law makes continuity of employment uncertain and acquisition of skill impossible for the African.

II. HOW THEY MUST GO.

Timid people of South Africa are afraid that the repeal of these laws would bring about a great and immediate inflow of Africans to the cities and cause great difficulties through overcrowing and unemployment.

On the contrary, it is clear that if the South African economic situation is seen as a whole, abolition of influx control will have a good, not a bad effect. At present a large proportion of the African men from the reserves have to spend most of their time working in the urban areas, because the poverty of the reserves compels them to supplement their income in this way; this means that the abolition of influx control cannot greatly increase the numbers already in the towns.

Until/.....

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#11

THE FAGAN - GRAAFF - BASSON AXIS

WHO ARE THE NATIONAL UNION ?

Though no doubt this movement has a number of well-meaning followers it really depends upon two men - the Hon. H.A. Fagan and Mr Japie Basson. We must examine their political records. Mr Fagan was a Nationalist who went into the fusion Cabinet, but voted against General Smuts on the war issue and joined the Herenigde Nasionale Party. After nearly twenty years he has returned to politics at the age of 72 to advocate a policy of " Back to 1936".

Mr Basson was a United Party organiser, who joined the Nationalists shortly before 1948 and entered Parliament in 1950 as a Nationalist member from South West Africa. As such, he voted for the High Court of Parliament Act, the Senate Act, the Separate Representation of Coloured Voters Act and all the other Nationalist legislation of that period. He broke with the Nats in 1959 over the ejectment of the Native Representatives from Parliament. Incidentally - he did not resign his seat.

The chief organiser of the Party is or was, Mr Hein Richter.

The policy for which these gentlemen stand includes the following points:

(1) Separate representation of Coloured voters - a Nationalist policy.

(2) Acceptance of the idea of Independent Bantustans - a Nationalist policy.

(3) Return to the 1936 policy of African representation - about mid-way between Nat. and U.P. policy.

This is the party - and this is the policy - with which the once-great United Party has formed a merger.

WHY HAS THIS HAPPENED?

It has not happened in an effort to mobilise maximum strength against the Nats. Plainly, if that had been the object, the Progressive Party, which has vastly more resources than the National Union, must have been included But there was a specific refusal, on policy grounds, to make any arrangement whatever with us. This means that the reason for the Pact was policy, not efficiency of organisation. The United Party wished to move once more in direction of Nationalist policies, and therefore concluded an arrangement a party whose only recommendation is that it is near- Nationalist in its and outlook.

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PROGRESSIVE *Party of South Africa*

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PROGRESSIVE FRANCHISE AND CONSTITUTIONAL POLICY

THE AIM

The Progressive Party was born determined to provide what South Africa then lacked - a real alternative to Nationalist policies. This must mean a plan for a stable, harmonious, multi-racial country in which western standards are protected - and western standards mean the freedom and dignity of the individual, opportunity for every citizen to realise his or her capabilities, impartial justice and the rule of law. Obviously this requires great reforms in all spheres of policy, but most particularly it affects the franchise and the constitution.

The racialist parties - the Nationalists and the United Party - cannot satisfy western standards because they deny rights to citizens on the grounds of race alone. The groups in South Africa who propose "one man, one vote" claim that they are in tune with western thought. But are they? We believe that the institution of a universal suffrage in South Africa would lead, as it has elsewhere in Africa, to the rule of an irresponsible sectional nationalism which tends inevitably towards totalitarianism and to the destruction of western standards.

THE MEANS

If this argument is accepted, there is only one solution - the qualified vote, in terms of the old traditional Cape slogan: "Equal rights for all civilised men, and equal opportunity for all men to become civilised."

For as long as we refuse this, we build our nation upon a foundation of immorality and injustice, and we make it certain that retribution will overtake us.

THE FEAR

The white minority is afraid that the extension of rights to non-whites will result in the assumption of power at some future date by a Black government and in oppression of the whites. This is natural and understandable fear. It deserves to be met and will be met by the Progressives through the safeguards in the Bill of Rights and the Senate. But the white man should never, never think that he can safeguard himself by denying rights to those who deserve them on merit. On the contrary, his only safety lies in sharing them with all civilised South Africans. If the white man lacks the courage to do this, then assuredly he will destroy the future of his children.

THE PROGRESSIVE PLAN

Knowing all this, the Progressive Leader, Dr. Jan Steytler, appointed the expert Molteno Commission, which has given the nation the Molteno Report. From its study of the document, the Party itself framed the plan set out below.

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.P75

COLIN EGLIN

priorities for the seventies

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26

#14

PROGRAMME of PRINCIPLES and CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED PARTY

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AS ACCEPTED AND CONFIRMED BY THE INAUGURAL CONGRESS DECEMBER 5TH, 1934, AND AMENDED 3RD DECEMBER 1937, DECEMBER 6TH 1944, AND 23RD NOVEMBER 1950

•

ISSUED APRIL 1951, BY THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE UNITED SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL PARTY, P.O. BOX 404, PRETORIA

For their sake...
VOTE
for the
UNITED PARTY'S
WHITE Policy

Om hulle ontwil...
STEM
vir die
VERENIGDE PARTY
SE
BLANKE Beleid

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The Native Policy of the United Party

As approved by the Union Congress of the Party, Bloemfontein, 16, 17, 18 November 1954.

THE POLICY OF THE UNITED PARTY

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OUR Safeguards for Housewife and Worker
OUR Plans for Farmers, Smallholders and the Nation's Food
OUR White Policy
OUR Non-European Policy
OUR Defence of Democracy

#17

What Can and Will Be Done for the People of South Africa

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THE UNITED PARTY

* * *

Its Re-statement of Policy

The lead given by General Smuts

RESISTANCE TO FOLLY

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The Story of the United Party
Dr. Malan and
The Cape Coloured Voters

★ ★

When the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, the hundred-year old common roll rights of the Coloured Voters of the Cape Province became the subject of a major political controversy, which still rages. Here are set down the facts of the controversy with which the voters of South Africa should be fully acquainted.

Compiled by J. L. Horak, Kerry Building, 238 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria, and printed by L. S. Gray & Co. (Pty.) Ltd., 8 Glenluce Road, Glenesk, Johannesburg.

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- ★ How the Republic will be governed.
- ★ How it proposes to create a Fascist State by means of its Social and Economic Programme.

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The Nationalist Party's

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A PRINCIPLE OF UNITED PARTY POLICY

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THE LAW OF OUR FATHERS